1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

needles are fastened, quickly pricks over the whole so that blood is drawn, then a coat of this powder is laid and left on to dry. Before the whites came into this country, they scarified themselves for this purpose with sharp flint stones, or pricked themselves with the sharp teeth of a fish.

In the year 1742, a veteran warrior of the Lenape nation and Monsey tribe, renowned among his own people for his bravery and prowess, and equally dreaded by their enemies, joined the Christian Indians who then resided at this place.* This man, who was then at an advanced age, had a most striking appearance, and could not be viewed without astonishment. Besides that his body was full of scars, where he had been struck and pierced by the arrows of the enemy, there was not a spot to be seen, on that part of it which was exposed to view, but what was tattooed over with some drawing relative to his achievements, so that the whole together struck the beholder with amazement and terror. On his whole face, neck, shoulders, arms, thighs and legs, as well as on his breast and back, were represented scenes of the various actions and engagements he had been in; in short, the whole of his history was there deposited, which was well known to those of his nation, and was such that all who heard it thought it could never be surpassed by man. Far from murdering those who were defenceless or unarmed, his generosity, as well as his courage and skill in the art of war, was acknowledged by all. When, after his conversion, he was questioned about his warlike feats, he frankly and modestly answered, "That being now "taken captive by *Jesus Christ*, it did not become him to "relate the deeds he had done while in the service of the "evil spirit; but that he was willing to give an account "in the manner in which he had been *conquered*." At his baptism, on the 23d of December 1742, he received the name of *Michael*, which he preserved until his death,

* Bethlehem.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

797 which happened on the 24th of July 1756. He led the life of a true Christian, and was always ready and willing to relate the history of his conversion, which I heard myself from his own mouth. His age, when he died, was supposed to be about eighty years.

304 The cutting of the ears, which formerly was practised among the Indians, is now no longer so common with them. Their reasons for laying this custom aside, are that the operation is painful, not only when performed, but until the ears are perfectly healed, which takes a long time, and that they often lose that part of their ears which is separated from the solid part, by its being torn off by the the bushes, or falling off when frost-bitten. I once heard of a gay Indian setting off on a severe cold morning for a neighbouring village not more than three miles distant, whose ears had been touched by the frost, and dropped off before he arrived at the place to which he was going. He had not even felt that he had lost them, and when told of it, he was so chagrined that he was going to destroy himself. I have seen a great many Indians with torn ears; but now the custom of cutting them is nearly if not entirely disused.

CHAPTER XXVI.

DANCES, SONGS, AND SACRIFICES.

535 782 THE dances of the Indians vary according to the purposes for which they are intended. We have seen, in the second chapter of this work, that when the Dutch first landed on New York island, the inhabitants who be-

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

tain and her colonies, that they began to be sensible of their desperate situation—this whole northern continent being now in the possession of one great and powerful nation, against whom it was vain to attempt resistance. Yet it was at this moment that their prophets, impelled by ambitious motives, began to endeavour by their eloquence to bring them back to independent feelings, and create among them a genuine national spirit; but it was too late. The only rational resource that remained for them to prevent their total annihilation was to adopt the religion and manners of their conquerors, and abandon savage life for the comforts of civilised society; but of this but a few of them were sensible; in vain Missionaries were sent among them, who, through the greatest hardships and dangers exerted themselves to soften their misfortunes by the consolations of the Christian faith, and to point out to them the way of salvation in this world and the next; the banner of Christ was comparatively followed but by small numbers, and these were persecuted by their friends, or, at least, those who ought to have been such, as well as by their enemies. Among the obstacles which the Missionaries encountered, the strong opposition which was made to them by the prophets of the Indian nations was by no means the least.

I have known several of these preachers and prophets during my residence in the Indian country, and have had sufficient opportunities to observe the means which they took to operate on the minds of their hearers. I shall content myself with taking notice here of a few of the most remarkable among them.

In the year 1762, there was a famous preacher of the Delaware nation, who resided at *Cayahaga*, near Lake Erie, and travelled about the country, among the Indians, endeavouring to persuade them that he had been appointed by the great Spirit to instruct them in those things that were agreeable to him, and point out to them the offences by which they had drawn his displeasure on

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

various branches of their own nation. The Monsys and Unamis call one another Nitgochk, "my companion [feminine] in play," for the reason that the whole nation has become the women. The several tribes, also, have special names and titles, which the speaker must know. These titles are not generally used but only in their councils when something of importance is to be communicated, which is done with great solemnity. They are able to express themselves with great clearness and precision, and so concisely that much circumlocution is required to convey the full meaning of their expressions in an European language. In spiritual things, of which they are totally ignorant, there was utter lack of expressions. But since the gospel has been preached among them, their language has gained much in this respect. If they intend to speak in an obscure manner, they can speak so cleverly and with so much circumstance that even Indians must puzzle out the true sense of their allusions. They are able to convey an account of a bad action so skillfully that it appears not to be a bad but a virtuous deed. The chiefs are not particularly well versed in this art of dissembling, and, therefore, very strict attention must be paid to every word of their discourse, especially, if an answer is required, and great caution is necessary in order that one may not be caught.

A speaker in council must be able to deliver his speech without hesitation. Often he has no time to prepare his subject, the different heads are only briefly named or left for him to collect from the conversation of the chiefs. He must, then, be able to comprise the whole in a speech, well arranged and uninterrupted, which requires a clear and open understanding, a faithful memory and experience in matters of state. Young men are being constantly trained for such duty. They are admitted as hearers to the council, to familiar intercourse with the chiefs, who instruct them faithfully, and are employed as ambassadors to give them an opportunity to exercise themselves in public speaking.

The pronunciation of their language is easy, only the Ch is a very deep gutteral. The greatest difficulty is presented by the compounding of words with verbs, substantives and adjectives, which is very difficult for a European to learn. They have few

of this substance. His niece was preparing it for a small child who was dangerously ill. She dropped a small quantity in a cup of hot water and observing it settle to the bottom, knew that the small patient would not recover. The medicine was administered as a tea, but the child died in a short time.[33]

In the making of an emetic, the necessary water should be dipped from the stream *with* the current;[34] for a cathartic, *against* the current. A similar regulation applies to the gathering of bark; for use as an emetic, the bark is peeled upward; for a cathartic, downward.

Formerly there were among the Delaware, as among other tribes, certain men and women whose supernatural power enabled them to communicate with the dead, to locate lost persons and objects and to foretell coming events. This practice was known as "locating or foretelling," and one who possessed such power was known as a "man who tells of the future." The source of this extraordinary power was attributed to one's guardian spirit or in some instances to the spirits of the dead. Those who were able to communicate with the dead usually performed at night. Such a person was also thought able to cure paralysis.

Some individuals who possessed the power to stay under water for a period of several hours at one time, were frequently called upon to locate a drowned person or a submerged object. One man was known to have found the body of a drowned person after months of futile searching by others. Some years later, the son of this shaman, after becoming converted to Christianity and studying for the ministry, finally persuaded his father to abandon the native faith and join the Christian church. In doing so the old seer, forsaken by his supernatural guardian, forfeited his magical power. Later the old man returned to the Delaware religion, but the power which enabled him to be of service to his tribesmen, was gone forever.

Witapanóxwe's grandfather was one of the last of the Delaware to possess such extraordinary mental and physical powers. He was able to perform the submersion feat and several times located the bodies of persons who had drowned in the rivers of Kansas. On one occasion a

[33] In reference to remedies for fever, Zeisberger observes (*op. cit.*, p. 55) that "when a patient has been given a dose, they are generally able to tell by its workings whether he will recover or die. If he does not retain the medicine it is regarded as a sign that he will hardly recover."

[34] This practice was noted by Heckewelder, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

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last she told her friend that she wished to confess. She said, "Now I am going to die and I want to tell you something. You must never reveal it or you will die also. I was out travelling (sic) one night and someone shot me." After her death, the other woman one day revealed the secret to some friends and soon after died.

One of the last of the Delaware witches is said to have joined the church, but continued to practice witchcraft. She believed that she could not find salvation because she had sold her soul to the Devil, but by joining the Church, thought she could secure some peace of mind. [797]

The unnatural behaviour of birds or animals, as observed in dreams or waking life, has led people to regard them as transformed witches. Once a man saw a hog which, as he looked at it, seemed to grow longer and longer. He started towards the animal, but it retreated into the bushes. Thereupon he knew that it was a transformed person. [825]

A second incident involved a young man returning home from a dance early in the morning. The path led through the woods and over a hill, at the foot of which stood a small cabin occupied by two old women. As he rode along, an owl flew quite low over his head towards the cabin where it disappeared. The young man told his people of the unusual flight of the owl and every one agreed that it was one of the old women returning home. Both had previously been suspected of witchcraft.

Another person had a similar experience with a boar. The man lived alone and one night, while lying on his bed, the door opened and in walked a large boar. The Indian, quite surprised by this, picked up a poker from the fireplace and attempted to drive out the animal. The boar ran around the table several times, without the man succeeding in striking it. Finally it escaped through the door. The man hurried outside and looked around, but the animal had disappeared entirely.

Many years ago a man about forty years old married a woman who was over seventy. My grandfather's brother lived with this couple. He was a powerful medicine man. After some years the old woman took sick and died. Her husband, a very vain, boastful individual, did not conceal his pleasure over her death. He was heard to say, "Now, I am the boss. See what I will do." My grandfather[a] soon atfer left the house. He walked away down the hill, frequently looking back at the house. After a while he returned. He had left to

[a] In the Delaware kinship terminology one's grandfather's brothers are called by the same term as the grandfather. [601]

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with the natives, primarily in matters concerned with land sales. It was shortly after his return from this trip that he wrote his "Letter to the Free Society of Traders" (contained in Penn, 1937), which is his most complete sketch of native life. It is probably based on secondhand knowledge as well as that gained directly from the natives, but the information found in it agrees well with that in Lindstrom and other shorter statements of the same period. The book which I have cited contains not only this main source of information but several letters from him which add a few details.

Other sources of seventeenth century Delaware life worthy of mention are Danckaerts, Kalm, Pastorius, and the Swedish writers whose observations have been summarized in Johnson. Danckaerts was in the New World for two years in 1678-80 and left a journal of his travels through Pennsylvania and New York which contains scattered references to Lenape culture. By far the most important observations he made were those concerning Delaware religion and beliefs on cosmology. These observations were based on single interviews with two Indians.

Kalm was sent to America by the Swedish Academy of Sciences in 1747 to discover what plants grown in the New World could be usefully grown in Sweden. He had been a pupil of Carl von Linné and had made scientific trips in Sweden, Finland and Russia prior to this trip (Kalm, 1937, introd. by Benson). His journal, which covers the years 1748-51, is of value primarily for its indications of changes which had already taken place in Lenape culture since contact and for additions to our knowledge of the material culture and foods of the Delaware of an earlier time.

Daniel Pastorius was a lawyer and a Pietist, one of the sects to which Penn had particularly directed his appeal for colonists. In 1683 Pastorius purchased 15,000 acres of land in the present area of Philadelphia as agent for a Frankfort group of Pietists. He arrived in Pennsylvania where he founded and became justice of the peace, schoolmaster and scrivener of Germantown (Myers, 1912, introd. to Pastorius, p. 355). Although he does not appear to have traveled much outside of this area, the Indians made frequent visits to Philadelphia and it appears that he had some first-hand contact with them. Much of his material on the other hand is probably second-hand.

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Eighteenth century sources are much more complete than those we have just mentioned and show greater understanding of the inner workings of Delaware culture. This is possible because the Moravian missionaries actually lived among the Indians-in the case of our two best sources, David Zeisberger and John Heckewelder for many years.

David Zeisberger was born in Moravia in 1721 of parents associated with the Church of the Bohemian Brethren. His parents fled to Saxony and then America to escape the persecution which this sect was then experiencing. Zeisberger was left in Saxony to complete his education

but joined his parents in the New World at seventeen. He learned the Mohawk language at a missionary school in Bethelehem and shortly after that began his life with the Indians which, with only short trips to the civilized world, lasted sixty-two years. It should be noted here that Heckewelder, Zeisberger and many of the other Moravian missionaries learned the languages of the Indians with whom they were working. Zeisberger, unlike his fellow missionary John Heckewelder, was not what I would call sympathetic to Indian culture, but by reason of his sincerity and devotion to his religion was very successful among the Delaware and made many staunch friends in the course of his work (Zeisberger, 1910, introd.). His understanding of Delaware religion was perhaps the greatest weakness in his whole work, but even in this aspect of life he could not help but obtain some facts about the outward forms. De Schweinitz's work makes some useful additions to Zeisberger's History of the Northern American Indians, as he has utilized in addition to that work Zeisberger's correspondence with the mission board, journals and reports of special occurrences.

John Heckewelder was born in 1743 at Bedford, England of a family associated with the Brethren. He was taken to Bethlehem, Pennsylvania at the age of eleven when his father became director of the Moravian colony there. Before he became a missionary in 1771, he had had some experience as a messenger for the society, but had supported himself as a cedar cooper. He was a missionary to the Delaware for fifteen years during the period of the Revolutionary War and the Indian War which followed it (Heckewelder, 1881, introd.). Heckewelder was very partisan to the Delaware and idealized their institutions and history. His statements of fact based on actual observation, however, agree with those of Zeisberger and other observers of the same period.

Loskiel's account of the Delaware and Iroquois is based on the journals kept by all the Moravian missionaries. Since most of these journals are unavailable it has a use in spite of being a secondary source. Its value is lessened by the fact, however, that the great bulk of the material appears to have been taken from Zeisberger's History which is available. One other source of the Moravian missionaries' accounts is that edited by Gipson. This volume contains not only the account of the Moravian mission on White River, but selections from the autobiography of Abraham Luckenbach. The latter is particularly valuable as the writer appears to have been a more objective observer and more concerned with the Indians' culture than most of the other missionaries. His account of the Delaware is limited to the years 1800-1806.

Two missionaries of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge (a Scotch organization) have also left some written observations on Delaware life. David Brainerd became a missionary for the society in 1744, working among the heterogeneous Indians of the Forks of the Delaware River and with a congregation of Delaware at Crossweeking, New Jersey (Edwards, 1798). His work is so introspective that it

114 contains few observations on Indian culture, but there are some very
747 good comments on Delaware religion. Since both Zeisberger and Heckewelder neglected this aspect of Delaware culture, Brainerd's really keen insights on this subject are of great value.

Charles Beatty was in contact with the Delaware for only a few weeks when he visited them in Ohio to see whether they would be interested in having a mission established there. This visit to a Delaware town on the Muskingum was made in 1766 and from it we have a good description of the town and the manner in which the council operated (Beatty, 1798).

114 George Brickell and Christian Fast were captives of the Delaware who were made members of families of the tribe. Brickell's account is by far more valuable, giving insight into the division of labor and the manner of rearing children in the late eighteenth century.

Another source of early material culture are the archaeological reports such as those of Abbot, Butler, Heye, and Skinner. Skinner and Harrington have also used the results of archaeology in other of their reports.

For purposes of my reconstruction, the descriptions of Delaware culture by ethnographers were not useable because they had combined material gained from different periods of time. Brinton, the earliest anthropologist to write at length about the Delaware, had other grave faults. In the first place, his conceptions of the universality of certain traits, particularly in the field of religion, led him to ascribe these traits to the Delaware without sufficient evidence. One example of this is his treatment of the Delaware culture hero. Secondly, I have differed with him on several points where the main problem was one of evaluation of the sources. In spite of his unreliability, however, Brinton was of use because he had utilized many old writers whom subsequent students had overlooked or known only through Brinton's writings.

Skinner's work is of value as a consolidation of the most important sources available, but presents a somewhat too generalized picture because he has assumed both that seventeenth and eighteenth Delaware culture and that Delaware and neighboring cultures were essentially the same. Harrington has presented the most complete picture of Delaware culture, but has included many details gained from later writers and his own field research in Oklahoma and Ontario, which cannot be demonstrated to have been part of aboriginal Delaware culture. Speck's published work on the Delaware is almost wholly restricted to the fields of religion and ceremony. His observations on the functioning of Delaware religion, although based largely on later periods, threw much light on the earlier material to which I had restricted myself. The views on the aboriginal social structure in Anthony Wallace's short sketch of

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

source for comparison of Delaware ceremonies in general with those of other groups of eastern North America. Casual survey of its salient points will reveal differences and similarities observed in the elements of ceremony so far recorded among Central Algonkian, Iroquois tribes and those of the southeast. It will remain for more intensive study derived from similar summaries made among these groups to determine the position of Delaware ceremonialism in relation to them.

In conjunction with the Delaware series of festivals it is evident that those of the Munsee should be jointly grouped. Harrington's notes on Munsee rites is our principal source. The fact that the Munsee bands still exist in several locations in Canada leaves an open possibility that more detailed and penetrating records of ceremonies of the family or individual order may still be secured. Yet the more thoroughly Christianized condition of the tribe in general may, when the attempt is made, convert this hope to chagrin. This has been the outcome in the case of the Delaware-Munsee of the Six Nations reserve.

Formal ceremonies have disappeared from the calendar of religious events of the Delaware-Munsee incorporated with the Six Nations of Ontario for almost a century, since the abrupt discontinuation of the rites of the Big House in this band in 1832. This resulted from a successful attack on its creed by the native missionary, G. H. M. Johnson, a Mohawk.[1] There remains little to put on record beyond what knowledge we have, opportunely rescued in 1910–14 and admirably presented by M. R. Harrington in several of his publications referred to in the course of our study. Minor religious performances may still be obtained in descriptive form from the Canadian bands of Munsee and Delawares blended together on several of the reservations, but from a casual survey of these groups, their dialects and history, I am free to

[1] An interesting summary of religious history of the band is compiled by R. R. Whale, of the Brantford, Ontario, Historical Society. Johnson with John Wampum, presumably a Delaware, took axes and destroyed the images in the Long House in the Delaware settlement. Whereupon all the Delawares there were converted.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

strong faith, that the night he dreams about him,[3] he will at once the following day be able to shoot as much game and catch as much fish as ever he wants to,—the evil one, undoubtedly helps him to it.[4]

The first hunt which the savages arrange in the spring [they dedicate to the evil one]; if they then can shoot ever so many animals in their hunt they do not sell a single one of them, but make a burnt offering of it[5] to *Manitto* or the devil; then they will that year have good luck in hunting and shooting.

They do, however, know a little historically about Christ, which they consider a fable. When the old savages are to tell the Christians what passed in former times, they say that it has been told them from times immemorial by their fathers and forefathers, who have said that it was, once in former time, one of our savage women who became pregnant by going and drinking in a brook; and none of our Rennappi had had any connection with her, yet she became pregnant and gave birth to a son. And when that one became somewhat large, something like this,—he measures with his hand in the air, as he knows nothing of age or years. "Yes, that was a pólite[6] and clever

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Portuguese citizens and speak a Portuguese dialect. For *taboo*, see Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 667.

[3] The charm or fetish emblem.

[4] Lindeström believed in the powers of the Indian medicine man; but he attributed this power to influence of the Devil. Cf. Heckewelder, *Indian Nations*, 231 ff.

[5] The game obtained in the hunt. Cf. Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 402 ff., and the literature quoted there.

[6] *Artigh*, *polite*. Perhaps, however, Lindeström means handsome, fine, splendid. See *artigh invention*, Chapt. XVII, note 3.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

boy," they say. "His like will never come here again. He had so much to say that it was a great wonder and [he] performed many miracles and wonders. When he now became somewhat large he departed from us and went up into the air, up there," they say, and point to heaven. "He promised to come back to us, but he never came back to us again," they say. "Sometime after him," they said, "a large-mouth with large beard,[7] like your large mouths are," they said, and likened him to our pastors. "He also had much to say for a time.[8] That one also went up there, like the other one," and the [Indians] pointed to heaven. "He promised also," they said, "to come back here to us again, but he never came." And it must surely have been one of the apostles, for the word of God is true, which can never fail us:[9] *Euntes docete omnes Gentes*, etc.[10] So far they know of Christ and his apostles and can relate it from hearsay from their fathers and forefathers.

[7] *Stoort skägg*, large beard, *i.e.*, long beard. The long, thick beard of some of the pastors made a strong impression on the Indians who had seen nothing like it before.

[8] *Han hade och mycket af munnen en tijdh.* *Lit.* he had also much of the mouth for a time.

[9] Perhaps Lindeström refers to the belief prevalent in the middle ages and later, that the apostles had visited all continents and all countries, according to the injunction quoted in Latin from the New Testament.

[10] Go and teach all people. *Cf. Mark*, XVI, 15.

[p. 210 is blank]

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

II. THE DELAWARE TRIBE

HISTORICAL SKETCH

The Delaware call themselves Lenape or Lenni Lenape. Their common name is derived from the fact that their first known residence was on the river so named by the English. Lindeström gives their location in 1656 as in the vicinity of Philadelphia on the west side of the Delaware River, and their kindred, the Munsee, were located on the east side. The territory that they occupied was probably much more extensive than Lindeström indicated, but little beyond the water courses had been explored in those days. The Delaware were still in possession of the river when William Penn entered into his first treaty with them in 1682.

The British administration after Penn's time was aligned with the Iroquois who assumed domination over the Delaware. It is practically impossible to determine the exact time or circumstances of the Iroquois "making women" of the Delaware, but about 1720 they denied the Delaware the right to make war or to dispose of land. Very soon the Delaware were being crowded out of their old locations by the Iroquois and the whites. They moved to various sites farther west in Pennsylvania, and by 1751 began to settle in eastern Ohio. Within a few years the majority of them were in Ohio and Indiana. The Moravian missionaries who followed them from the East established themselves in Ohio and worked with great success until the Revolution.

Distrusted by both the British and the colonists, the Delaware and particularly the Moravian converts, were harried from both sides. The Gnadenhütten Massacre in 1782 was the greatest blow dealt by the colonists, but while demoralizing, it was not as devastating as were the moves forced upon the Indians by the British the year before. The famine and other hardships resulting from these forced emigrations scattered and decimated the Christian Delaware and also created the opportunity for the

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

775 abode of the souls of the good. In the second and third periods south is again mentioned as the direction of the land of good souls. However, in the third period the directions up and down for the location of the future abodes of the souls of good and bad persons appear. In the fourth period, the ascension of the souls of the good is unanimously asserted, while only one added that they also went west. This informant, E. R., also said that souls of the bad went down, whereas W. T., also of Anadarko, said that they stayed here on earth. W. L., of Dewey, said that souls of bad persons went to all the places on earth where they had committed their evil actions and were there punished. All this happened in the eleven days between death and the departure of the soul for the celestial abode of the Great Spirit.

775 177 The Delaware have thus approached the popular Christian notions on this point but still retain some of their earlier concepts. The exposition of the modern Delaware clears up the confusion and seeming contradictions that exist in the earlier accounts as to the final disposition of the souls of the bad. There can be little doubt that missionary teaching was responsible for the idea of a hell which cropped up in the third period as a belief of the Delaware (35).

771 177 There are two exceptions to the continuity of concepts otherwise shown by the elements under *Religion*. One is the report of priests in the first period and not thereafter (39). There was probably no change between the first and second periods but merely the discontinuance of the word priest to designate the shamans who were present in all periods. The other exception is the dissenting voice of Captain Chipps on such subjects as subordinate deities, ghosts, witches, and the national worshiping society (22, 38, 40, 41). Chipps was a Canadian Delaware or Munsee and probably the descendant of several generations of Moravian converts, for his account of the religion of the Delaware reflects much greater acceptance of Christian teachings than any of the accounts of the Oklahoma Delaware. The national 794 worshiping society or Big House Ceremony as it is now known, 797 was apparently successfully suppressed by the Moravian missionaries among the Canadian Delaware.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

Introduction and Explanation of the Ceremony

It has long been known that the Delaware Indians had a periodic ceremony of paramount importance in fulfilling their obligations toward a pantheon of spiritual forces. We learn something of such a ceremony from indications occurring in the 17th and 18th century sources, among which figure Denton (1670),[1] William Penn (1683),[2] Brainerd (1745),[3] Zeisberger (1779-80),[4] Loskiel (1794),[5] and Heckewelder (1771-86, 1818).[6] First from the casual writings of Dutch, Swedish and English authors we get glimpses of the ceremony while this famous and patriarchal nation was still residing in its haunts in eastern Pennsylvania and New Jersey. With the westward movement of the tribe, first to the valley of the Susquehanna and later to the Ohio country, the missionaries who attempted the conversion of the Delawares have added their comments upon the great recurrent festival, treating it in terms of cool description or in phrases of fervent condemnation according as their attitudes toward it were determined by their profession.

In the accounts we have, the ceremony is referred to under various titles, some in English, some in Delaware; Cantiko, (Penn, 1683), Gamwing, (Zeisberger, 1779), xingwi·ka'on, The Big House, The Annual Ceremony. And it is not a little strange that even the oldest of them are recognized by corresponding terms still current in the language of the tribe at the present time, as clearly explainable today as though we were still holding conference with native priests and patriarchs who had talked with Penn and his contemporaries. That the great rite was of local interest in the religious life of the allied peoples

[1] Denton's Description of New York, formerly New Netherlands, N. Y. 1670.

[2] William Penn. A Letter from William Penn, Proprietary and Governor of Pennsylvania in America to the Committee of the Free Society of Traders of that Province Residing in London, London 1683 in Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, of New Jersey and Delaware, Edited by Albert Cook Myers, N. Y. 1912, p. 234.

[3] David Brainerd, Memoirs of the Rev. David Brainerd, by Jonathan Edwards, New Haven, 1822.

[4] David Zeisberger. History of the Northern American Indians. Edited by A. B. Hulbert and W. N. Schwarze, Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, n.d.

[5] George Henry Loskiel, History of the Mission of the United Brethren Among the Indians of North America, London, 1794.

[6] John Heckewelder, History, Manners and Customs of the Indian Nations Who Once Inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighboring States, Edited by W. C. Reichel. Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Phila. 1876.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

796 346 Who is Carried Around." Their descendents still carry the burden of the worship. They belonged to the "Wolf" group (Tu'k^wa^l-t). For this reason the Wolf group claims the right to sponsor these exercises now, and holds the majority rule in the present Big House deliberations. And in my judgment they will always rule hereafter. The present house was built three or four hundred yards to the southwest of the present spot but on account of its inconvenience it was moved to where it now stands, and one acre was set aside by the Dawes Commission. It was remodeled by us after a deliberation in September 1913.

796 [735] "The ceremony has not been "taken in" for four years,[1] the last one being led by Frank Wilson (E'm-a'). Poverty has driven them to neglect it. And also the loss of the wampum beads which one time numbered about one hundred and twenty-eight Indian yards, all of which has nearly disappeared for it has been sold to other Indian tribes, to white people or to Museums as relics."

796 171 Speculations upon the origin of the ceremony would be quite out of order from the ethno-historical point of view, but Delaware traditional history has no such hesitant attitude. As the myth develops we observe how the inception of the idea of the ceremony is laid to the revelation made in dreams to chosen leaders among the Munsee. Opinion seems quite general among the Delawares that the original conception of the ceremony is a Munsee one. This is interesting because it locates the ceremony in the northerly group of the three tribes forming the so-called Delaware Nation. It is fortunate that we have, from the pen of Harrington,[2] a treatise on the Munsee form of the Big House ceremony for the purpose of comparison and evaluation as far as the material provided in the several accounts will permit us to go. At present there seems little to point toward proof of priority for the Munsee phase of the worship, except for the quasi-historical estimate of the Delawares themselves. A feeling of respect for the Munsee is general among the Delawares. They are held in high esteem for their former bravery and, strange to say though natural enough in the regard held by Indians for such matters, for their indifference to economic and material affairs and devotion to those of a spiritual nature.[3]

648 797 ESOTERISM OF DELAWARE RELIGION.—In the missionary descriptions of 170 years ago, chiefly from the pen of John Heckewelder, we hear constantly of the inner spirit of aversion held toward the whites, and the distrust felt by the natives concerning the motives of all Euro-

[1] This was written in October 1928.

[2] Harrington I, pp. 127-161.

[3] Illustrative of this sentiment several Delaware observations may be recalled in reference to the Munsee. The latter, it would seem, are held in high esteem for their bravery and ability in spiritual matters, yet were noted for an indifference to dress and economic properties, in which respect the Delawares think they stood out in contrast with them.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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peans. The Moravian missionary brothers laid some stress on this situation as it affected their own interests and those of the colonies at large. They saw ample reason for such feelings in the occasion of the atrocities committed upon the Indians by the border whites culminating in the massacre of the defenseless converts at Gnādenhütten by Pennsylvania militia (1782).

Heckewelder, knowing the Delaware through fifteen years residence in their midst (1771-1786), words the following brief expressing his own view of the matter. "Long and dismal are the complaints which the Indians make of European ingratitude and injustice. They love to repeat them, and always do it with the eloquence of nature, aided by an energetic and comprehensive language, which our polished idioms cannot imitate. Often I have listened to these descriptions of their hard sufferings, until I felt ashamed of being a white man."[1]

As for the testimony of the Delawares themselves, Heckewelder quotes the speech of a war-chief Pachgantschihilas,[2] delivered in 1781 to the Moravian converts at Gnādenhütten. After recapitulating the events which had happened before in their relationship with the whites, he concluded, saying, "I admit that there are good white men, but they bear no proportion to the bad; the bad must be the strongest for they rule. They do what they please. They enslave those who are not of their own color, although created by the same Great Spirit who created them. They would make us slaves if they could, but as they cannot do it, they kill us! There is no faith to be placed in their words. They will take him by the hand, and at the same moment destroy him. And so you (addressing himself to the Christian Indians) will also be treated by them before long. Remember! that this day I have warned you to beware of such friends as these. I know the long knives; they are not to be trusted."

Eleven months after this speech was delivered by this prophetic chief, ninety-six of the same Christian Indians, about sixty of them women and children, were murdered at the place where these very words were spoken, by the same men he has alluded to.

There seems to be little need of going further with details of this topic since it is so thoroughly covered in the manuscripts of the earlier writers who had opportunities of observing the transition period of Delaware contact with civilization. In the treatises of two missionaries alone, fifteen pages are devoted to the interracial problem.[3]

[1] Heckewelder, op. cit., p. 76.

[2] Paxkandji-hi-l-a-s, "Person Running with Body and Soul."

[3] Zeisberger, p. 121-2; Heckewelder, pp. 71-85; Loskiel, pt. III, chap. 10. See also de Schweinitz, "The Life and Times of David Zeisberger, Phila. (1870).

[P.34, A]

155 Zeisberger.[3] Infants were described by
854 Lindestrom as never crying.[4] Whether this was because they were nursed whenever restless (which is most likely), or because the crying was consistently ignored in early infancy, is not clear from the available accounts. From Zeisberger's description of the frequency of the mother's absence, it would seem that, even if the child were nursed on demand when she was available, her frequent absences must have meant to the child that she was an
862 undependable provider. Children were weaned at the age of two or three; the techniques are not described.[5] Anal and
863 urethral training do not seem to have been strenuous: boys wore no clothes at all until
[291] the age of five or six, although girls wore aprons as soon as they could walk.[6]

Zeisberger noted that children were
861 sometimes harshly treated, although such
155 behavior generally produced in them "bitterness, hatred and contempt." He went on to say, "The women are frequently guilty of thus raising their children to anger, for the women are often ill-tempered. By way of punishment, they will pour water on the children or thrust them into the water."[7] Zeisberger did not like the
[157 Indian women, whom he described also
181] as being "much given to lying and gossiping. They carry evil report from house to house. As long as they are observed they appear modest and without guile. All the wrongs of which they are guilty are done
114 in secret."[8] While one may be inclined to
● 797 discount Zeisberger's accusations on the grounds of the natural prejudice of a male missionary among somewhat more aggressive women than he was probably accustomed to at home, the general accuracy of his observations and the fact that he was really fond of his charges, with whom he spent much of his active life, suggest that he had imbibed the prevalent native male attitude toward the women of the tribe.

5. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 80.
6. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 17.
7. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 81.
8. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 124.

[P.36,A]

153 Throughout these and other instances there seems to be an association between the concepts of eating and aggression, and between the concepts of not eating (or of giving up food to another, or of relinquishing what has been eaten) and of being accepted, approved, and helped.

The Guardian Spirit

156 The Delaware could not support a sense of social disapproval or of disregard. The great importance attached by Europeans to conscience was among the Delawares replaced by an equal importance attached to "face." When self-esteem needed encouragement, the individual dreamed (or interpreted his dreams as meaning) that he was great. Zeisberger remarked, "They are proud and haughty, even a miserable Indian, capable in no respect, imagines himself to be a great lord. They hold themselves in high regard as if they were capable of great and wonderful things, in which respect they are much encouraged by dreams, held among them to be very significant and, indeed, it would appear that through dreams Satan holds the heathen bound and fettered and in close connection with himself, subjecting them in this fashion to delusion. All this the missionaries discover in those who come to church and who need be thoroughly humbled before they give up the vain imaginations concerning themselves."[31]

156 776 One of the main functions of the guardian spirit was to buttress the Delaware's opinion of himself. "They believe," observed Zeisberger, "in numerous spirits or subordinate deities. Almost all animals and the elements are looked upon as spirits, one exceeding the other in dignity and power. There is scarcely an Indian who does not believe that one or more of these spirits has not been particularly given him to assist him and make him prosper. This, they claim, has been made known to them in a dream, even as their religious belief is alleged to have been made known to them in a dream. One has, in a dream,

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31. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 18-19.

[p 51 (c)]

614 611 so now where the father and mother were of different tribes. This is a very interesting fact, as it is the first exception, if true, in the Algonquin race which I have found. Mr. Pratt informs me that he understands the children are of the tribe of the mother, [797] and he has been their missionary for twelve years and for 22 years an Indian missionary. I shall verify this perfectly before I leave. The young man also says that the 622 office of chief was hereditary in the tribe, as he thought, and that a brother or nephew succeeded as frequently as a son, but he was not quite sure on this subject. He gave me 535 the names of 16 of the dances, all he could remember, which will be given later.

602 He said the Delawares thought a good deal more of their relationships than we did, and if there was the least particle of relationship they were glad to find it. He says that in old times near relatives could [582] not marry, but now they married as near as our cousins.

Family Names

551 We took up this inquiry. He says one tribe has no right to use the names of another tribe, as he thinks, and he also says the names can be readily distinguished from one another, but I must inquire further about this. He seemed to think the same name might be used by another tribe, in which case it would be slightly varied. The real truth about the distinctness of the Indian names constantly eludes me. [57A] I shall soon think there is nothing in it.

[57A] [For footnote see category 116, p. 209 (A) — Analyst]

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1959
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[p53(B)]

773 and lonely in her absence, started to make
821 her a visit. As he travelled southward he carried the cold with him and wherever he went it became winter, or rather winter followed his footsteps. After he had concluded his visit he returned and carried back the winter with him as he advanced to the north. From the most ancient times this visit has been annually renewed.

Indian Persistency

157 Mr. Pratt mentioned as a recent occurrence
224 among the Delawares, that while a party
521 were out on a Buffalo hunt a few years since, one of them said one day that before he returned he would take a three year old bull buffalo alive. His companions rather laughed at his suggestion as an impossibility, and thought no more about it. This is the age when they are the most ferocious and unmanageable. A few days afterwards this hunter rode up to a herd of buffalo and having singled out a two or three year old bull, he managed to detach him from the

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John Gill Pratt was a dedicated Baptist missionary, working in turn with the Shawnees, the Stockbridge, and finally the Delawares. Morgan regarded him highly.

[p 53 (c)]

157 herd and gave him a chase. He followed
224 until the buffalo was about tired out, with
521 his tongue hanging out, and hardly able to move, while his own horse was in the same condition. Leaving his horse and his gun, the hunter, fresh and strong, took the buffalo by the tail and drove him on. He then went up an ascent and down on the other side until they came into a wet place where the buffalo stuck in the mud from weakness and exhaustion. He had thus taken his buffalo, in one sense. He was powerless, and still, except as he made slight efforts to fight. After spending some little time in this situation during which the buffalo was gaining strength and he was losing his, he was so fortunate as to espy and signal one of his party, who came to his aid, and the two, with a rope tied to his horns so as to keep at a safe distance from each of them and between both, they led or drove him to camp and thus the Indian maintained or made good his boast.

Delaware Baptist Mission School[86]

872 This school, under the supervision of Rev.
797 John G. Pratt,[87] a matron, Mrs. Muse, and a teacher, Miss Morse,[88] is in a very flourishing condition and superior to any I have seen in the territory. It has accommodations for 78 Indian scholars as boarders and lodgers. The number last term was 64, the number the present term is about 50, as they have held back for the payment, and will soon come in now.

346 The buildings consist of a two and a half story farm house large on the ground, designed for the sleeping and clothing rooms of the school; another of the same size with a wing for a kitchen, designed for the residence of the superintendent and teachers, and is the eating and cooking place for all.[89] Also a large school house with folding doors

[For footnote, See category 116, p. 209 (c)--Analyst]

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1959
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[54(A)]

D 346 in the center so as to separate the boys and girls, although they are as yet all together. There are numerous outbuildings, as a farm is carried on in connection with the school of about two hundred acres. The buildings D 872 were erected a few years ago with school money belonging to the Delawares, and is [657] supported with funds in the hands of the government reserved for that purpose.

D [797] The children are clothed, boarded and [657] taught by the Mission, and the government allows $75 per annum per scholar. They have two terms of five months each, and the children are kept in school about seven hours per day. They study reading, writing, and spelling, geography, arithmetic, with blackboard exercises. The scholars are mostly young, those now at school ranging from 6 to 18 years. They look well and healthy and free from sore eyes, and are decently and comfortably clad. This is the true system of Indian education, beyond a doubt, and this school is by far in the best condition of any I have seen. We see here New England cleanliness, system and good management. I did not visit the Mission S 872 School of the Methodist Southern Board 797 among the Shawnees. It is a large and flourishing school, I believe, but complaints are made of the principal of unfairness, of avarice, etc. He has made himself rich and also the Mission, they having secured by treaty between about 2000 acres of land, and at the same time he was active to prevent Friend Harvey from selling his Mission farm of 200 acres, evidently desiring to break up the Friends Mission.

D 797 Mr. Pratt commenced his missionary life 22 years ago with his present wife then 20 years of age. He was accepted as a missionary to Burma, but was requested to fill temporarily an Indian Mission then vacant among the Stockbridges near Fort Leaven-

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1959
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Shawnee NN17
[p 54(B)]

D 797 worth, and went from there to the Shawnee Baptist Mission now closed, and from there to this Mission about 12 years ago. His wife is still young looking [she was forty-five at the time, ed.] and must have been beautiful as a girl. They are very worthy, refined and agreeable, and my short stay with them has been very pleasant indeed. Mr. Pratt is a well educated and superior man.

S 797 872 The Friends Shawnee Mission has done a good work among the Shawnees, but was never, I fancy, a very large school. There are but two boys there at present, but no doubt they have done as much good in proportion to the means employed as any other missionaries. The Friends are well adapted to gain the confidence of the Indian.

D 555 [*Delaware: Succession of Chiefs*]

In a brief conversation with Charles Johnny Cake, he informs me that the son never succeeds the father in the office of chief, but that the office goes either to a brother or the son of a sister. But strange to say the Turtle, the Wolf and the Turkey tribes each have several subdivisions, and while it was the ancient law that Turtle must always intermarry with Turtle, Wolf with Wolf and Turkey with Turkey, yet the subdivisions were not allowed to intermarry and in these the children were of the tribe of the mother. Mrs. Johnny Cake, the mother of Charles, would not or could not tell me the names of the subdivisions. Charles would not today under the pretence that it was important to be right and he doubted his recollection of these subdivisions, although he said there were a number of each.

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15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1959
NM7 Delaware NM7
[p209(c)]

colonial period to designate a detached band of Iroquois who settled in Pennsylvania (James Mooney, "Mingo," in *Handbook of the American Indians*, F. W. Hodge, ed.).

86. The school was begun in 1853; the first baptism occurred four years later. The school was moved out of low bottom lands in 1848 to its 1859 location (Rev. S. F. Smith, "Brief History of Missions in Kansas and Missouri," in *Home Mission Monthly*, Aug. 1879; Clara Gowing, *op. cit.*, p. 183, n. 3).

87. John Gill Pratt was born in Hingham, Mass., in 1814. He graduated from Andover Seminary in 1836 and was licensed to preach. In 1837 he married and immediately set out for Kansas. He served at the Shawnee Baptist Mission, where he printed religious material for Indians, and helped to publish a newspaper, the *Shawanoe Sun*. He worked with the Stockbridge Indians from 1844 to 1848, when he took charge of the Delaware Baptist Mission. Mr. and Mrs. Pratt had seven children. Mr. Pratt died in 1900; Mrs. Pratt, a short time later (Gowing, *op. cit.*, pp. 183–84, n. 4).

88. Elizabeth S. Morse, born 1814, was "sent out from Boston in 1842 by the American Baptist Mission Union" to teach school among the Cherokees. She went to the Delaware Mission School about 1848, where she taught until the Delawares were removed to Indian Territory in 1867, when she went to live with friends. She died in 1899 (Gowing, *op. cit.*, p. 183, n. 2).

89. In October, 1859, Miss Clara Gowing arrived at the Delaware Mission School. She was born in Massachusetts, had been president of the W.C.T.U. in Reading, Massachusetts, had taught in colored schools in Virginia, etc. She has left us a very interesting account of her five years at the Delaware Mission, in her article, previously cited, pp. 183–93.

90. In *Systems* (p. 289) Morgan acknowledges the aid of "Lemuel R. Ketchum (Wool-le-